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which is furnished by his theory of the origin of surplus value. He does not raise the question of distributive justice. The influence of speculation is scarcely noticed. That which is, exists, according to Marx, by virtue of an immediate law of development, and it will be removed by the operation of that law.

HERBERT L. OSGOOD.

Protection or Free Trade: An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor, by HENRY GEORGE. New York, Henry George & Co., 1886. — 356 pp.

In the first twenty of the thirty chapters of this book Mr. George argues in behalf of absolute freedom of international exchanges — finding a tariff for protection an objectionable means to an undesirable end, and condemning also a tariff for revenue on grounds of economy and of the unjust and oppressive incidence of such taxation upon the poor. While a comprehensive and clear restatement of the anti-tariff argument is given, especial attention is paid to the relation of protection to wages and to the interests of labor as involved in the tariff question. Having expounded the merits of a certainly broad conception of free trade, Mr. George then sets himself to show that this conception is not yet broad enough, and is only fulfilled in the free access of “the active factor of production, Labor,” to “the passive factor of production, Land.”

For [inquires Mr. George] what have we proved as to the main issue? Merely that it is the *tendency* of free trade to increase the production of wealth and thus to *permit* of the increase of wages, and that it is the *tendency* of protection to decrease the production of wealth and foster certain monopolies. But from this it does not follow that the abolition of protection would be of any benefit to the working class.

Next appears, in substance, the remarkable dogma of *Progress and Poverty*, that the whole effect of any increase in the production of wealth is to enhance the demand for land. Mr. George declares, for instance, that

the robber that takes all that is left is private property in land. Improvement, no matter how great, and reform, no matter how beneficial in itself, cannot help that class who, deprived of all right to the use of the material elements, have only the power to labor . . . (Page 285.)

Mr. F. A. Walker, in his *Land and Rent*, would seem to have made clear enough the utter untenability of Mr. George's proposition, that the entire effect of an increase of production is expended in raising rents; but in such statements as that above quoted, the proposition, at least as far as wages are concerned, is substantially reasserted without reference to criticism.

This assertion accepted, it is easy to understand why monopolies, bad systems of currency, finance and taxation, standing armies, *etc.*, are matters of minor importance at present in social philosophy, since "these are the lesser robbers, and *to drive them off is only to leave more for the great robber to take.*" (Page 286.) The remedy is to be found in the development of the free-trade principle, so

that the taxation of land-values to which true free trade compels us to resort for public revenues, should be carried far enough to take, as near as might practically be, the whole of the income arising from the value given to land by the growth of the community. (Page 309.)

Taxes in accordance with the free-trade principle are taxes on ostentation (not of practical importance), and taxes on land values, which

do not fall upon all land, but only upon valuable land, and on that in proportion to its value. Hence they do not in any degree check the ability of labor to avail itself of land. (Page 307.)

The carrying out of the principle involves such an increase of public revenues, with concomitant reduction in public expenses, that a great fund would inure for social purposes now neglected, so that the aim of true free trade may be thus phrased: "No taxes at all, and a pension to everybody." But this fund is to be gained by simple confiscation.

The questions raised in this, as in Mr. George's previous writings, concern the facts in regard to the condition and prospects of labor, the causes of any failure or inadequacy in economic distribution, and the possible remedies for alleged evils. As to the facts referred to, it is well known that our author is not likely to understate them. In the present volume he speaks of the

tendency which, as wealth increases, makes the struggle for existence harder and harder. This tendency shows itself throughout the civilized world and arises from the unequal distribution which everywhere accompanies the increase of wealth.

His statements are made broadly and without reference to recent investigations of the subject, except that the results of Professor Thorold Rogers' inquiries in regard to English work and wages are referred to as if affording some confirmation of the view that the absolute as well as relative condition of the laborer has declined with the modern advance in wealth. But Professor Rogers' conclusions, on the whole, support Mr. George's position only as regards the relative, not the absolute, condition of English labor; and in the second volume of *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, Mr. George's *Progress and Poverty* is referred to as "a sketch of social life which was characterized by growing evil and

waning hope," with the observation that "the sketch was not lacking in that probability which is frequently unreal, because it is based on appeals to narrow or exceptional experiences."

But whatever the state of the facts in this regard, the problem of distribution is certainly just now the problem in social economy, and the study of causes of, and remedies for, disorders in the economic organism is urgently required. Here is eminent opportunity for the application of the "historical method"; and certainly it is not here, if anywhere in political economy, that the rhetorical method can be employed to advantage. Professor Rogers has significantly said, in regard to the need of investigating these troubles in their remote sources, that "till we understand the causes, we shall be offered remedies which are more dangerous than the disease."

The unearned increment of land, the wealth which grows while the owners sleep, has invited for a long period the thoughtful attention of economists; notably so in England, and necessarily so in view of her peculiar land-laws and long-swelling rent-rolls; but also in an increasing degree in this country. Here the pressure of indirect taxation upon the cost of living, the rising rents in towns and cities, the absorption by western land-barons of the public domain, the heritage of the poor, all predispose many of those hard pressed in the struggle for existence to give interested attention, at least, to such teachings as those of Mr. George's book. But the exaggeration of the evil due to one among many causes of our social ills, and the insuperable difficulties as to equity, practicability, and adequacy to its end, attending the drastic remedy proposed, will also not escape the attention of intelligent readers. Yet the volume may well increase the interest of the people in the incidence of taxation and in efforts toward so disposing its burden that it may be most easily borne, while at the same time correcting in some degree inequities of economic distribution which could not otherwise be remedied.

GEORGE B. NEWCOMB.

American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce. By EUGENE SCHUYLER, Ph.D., LL.D., Corresponding Member of the Roumanian Academy, *etc.* Lately Minister of the United States to Greece, *etc.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. — 8vo, 469 pp.

The books that have been written by American authors on our governmental and administrative system have been, in the main, of two kinds. They have been either simple books of reference, suited only to the use of the lawyer, or they have been so purely popular in character as to be almost valueless from a scientific point of view. It is, therefore,